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## Adam and Christ in the Theology of Irenaeus of Lyons; an examination of the function

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*Document Version*

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

*Publication date:*

1968

[Link to publication in University of Groningen/UMCG research database](#)

*Citation for published version (APA):*

Nielsen, J. T. (1968). *Adam and Christ in the Theology of Irenaeus of Lyons; an examination of the function*. s.n.

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## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the present study is to examine the meaning attached to Adam and Christ in the *Adversus Haereses* of Irenaeus. Born probably about 140<sup>1</sup> in or near Smyrna, and presumably deceased around 202<sup>2</sup>, Irenaeus of Lyons, as bishop of that city<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> int.al. F. M. M. Sagnard, *La gnose valentinienne et le témoignage de St. Irénée*, Paris, 1947, p. 56; A. Benoit, *St. Irénée*, introduction à l'étude de sa théologie, Paris, 1960, p. 49; J. N. Bakhuizen v.d. Brink and J. Lindeboom, *Handboek der Kerkgeschiedenis*, I, den Haag, 1965<sup>4</sup>, p. 116. Otherwise: F. Vernet, *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique*, Paris, 1923, VII/2, col. 2394-2533, who sets the birth of Ir. between 130 and 135.

<sup>2</sup> It may be that Irenaeus perished during a persecution in Lyons under Septimius Severus (193-211) in 202 (F. M. M. Sagnard, l.c. p. 64, note 2; J. Moreau, *La persécution du christianisme dans l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1956, p. 81; A. Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, I, Lyon, 1939, p. 53). Not until Pseudo-Justin (*Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos* CXV, P.G., 6, col. 1364) and Gregorius of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* I.27, P.L., 71, col. 175 and *De gloria martyrum* L, P.L., 71, col. 752) is Ir. called a *martyr*. According to Gregorius of Tours he was killed on June 28 203 and afterwards buried in the crypt of the basilica of 'beatus Johannes' under the altar. In *De vir. ill.* 35 Hieronymus does not, in a later work, *Comm. in Is. ad 64.4*, he does name Irenaeus as a martyr (P.L., 24, col. 647).

<sup>3</sup> Ir. became the successor of bishop Pothinus, who was one of the martyrs of the persecution of 177 (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* V.5.8). Ir. did not fall a victim to this persecution, because he had gone to Rome with a letter from the Churches of Vienne and Lyons (*Hist. Eccl.* V.4.2). On the church of Lyons: P.-M. Duval, *La vie quotidienne en Gaule pendant la paix romaine*, Paris, 1952, pp. 316; A. Latreille, E. Delaruelle, J.-R. Palanque, *Histoire du catholicisme en France*, Paris, 1957, p. 22; A. Benoit, l.c., p. 53 and A. Audin, *Sur les origines de l'église de Lyon*, in: *Mélanges de Lubac*, I Exégèse et patristique, Collection Théologie LVI, Paris, 1964, p. 223-34.

shortly after the persecution of the Christians there in 177, wrote a book in five volumes, "Ἐλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως also called *Adversus Haereses*.<sup>1</sup>

This work is directed against 'haereses', against adherents of a doctrine which Irenaeus names ἡ ψευδωνύμος γνῶσις (cf. I Tim. 6.20). This is a general name, for gnosticism comprised a great many doctrinal systems pertaining to different groups.<sup>2</sup> All are concerned with the salvation of the inner, spiritual man, the 'interior homo spiritualis' (Adv. Haer. I.21.4). Man's true self, the Ego, the soul, the νοῦς must be liberated from the darkness of this world that environs it. For man's true self derives from the world of light, up above, and is living as a prisoner in this world, chained to his body. By γνῶσις, which is brought to man from above for his salvation, he can be freed. Through γνῶσις man realises that he is lost, and how he came into this lost condition.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The original Greek text is lost. More than three quarters of Book I Adv. Haer., however, was preserved by Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis (= Constantia) on Cyprus, in his *Panarion seu Adversus LXXX Haereses*, written between 375 and 377 (cf. K. Holl, *Epiphanius, Ancoratus und Panarion*, Leipzig, Band I, 1915, (Haer. 1-33), Band II, 1922 (Haer. 34-64). The Latin translation is of ancient date, certainly before 421. Augustine quotes Irenaeus exactly in Latin (*Contra Iulianum* I.3.5, cf. P.L. 44, col. 644). It is possible that in his Adv. Valentinianos (written after 208/211) Tertullian made use of the Latin translation of Ir. Adv. Haer. (cf. A. d'Alès, Le mot 'οἰκονομία' dans la langue théologique de saint Irénée, in: REG, 32, 1919, p. 3, note 1 and F.M.M. Sagnard, l.c., p. 12. Sagnard also gives a systematic arrangement of the various MSS). S. Lundström dates the Latin translation between 200 and 400 (cf. S. Lundström, *Übersetzungstechnische Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der christlichen Latinität*, Lund Universitets Årsskrift, N.F. Avd. I, Band 51,3, Lund, 1955, p. 15). B. Hemmerdinger, *Observations critiques sur Irénée*, IV, JThS, XVII, 1966, p. 312, places it around 380, thus reviving the hypothesis of Dodwell (*Dissertationes in Irenaeum*, Oxford, 1689, p. 405). See also: F. Winkelmann, *Spätantike lateinische Übersetzungen christlicher griechischer Literatur*, in ThLZ, 92,3, 1967, Sp. 229-40.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. int.al. H.-M. Schenke, *Die Gnosis*, in: J. Leipoldt und W. Grundmann, *Umwelt des Urchristentums*, I, Berlin, 1965, S. 374.

<sup>3</sup> R. Bultmann in *Kittel ThWB*, I, SS. 692 s.v. γνῶσις; L. Goppelt, *Christentum und Judentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert*, Göttingen, 1954, S. 130, Anm. 2; G. Quispel, *Gnosis als Weltreligion*, Zürich, 1951, S. 19 points out that the Valentinians proclaimed programmatically: 'der Geist selbst,

Gnosticism was a very widespread movement in the first and second century of our era.<sup>1</sup> It has even been referred to as a 'Weltreligion'.<sup>2</sup>

In Lyons, too, Irenaeus came into contact with adherents of Gnostic groups: it was the seduction emanating from Marcus the Magian and others which stimulated him to write his *Adversus Haereses* (Adv. Haer. I.13.1-7).

In *Adversus Haereses* Irenaeus combats gnosis as it was taught by Valentinus and his school.<sup>3</sup> Irenaeus also counts Marcion among the Gnostics, briefly epitomising his doctrine (Adv. Haer. I.27.2-4) and stating that he will write a separate refutation of it (Adv. Haer. I.27.4). Of this writing against Marcion nothing is known.

Irenaeus has read the writings of the Gnostics (Adv. Haer. I. Praef. 1). He calls them 'interpretatores mali eorum, quae bene dicta sunt' (Adv. Haer. I, Praef. I), and says that they speak like Christians, but think entirely differently from the Christians (Adv. Haer. I. Praef. 2).

In brief, Book I of *Adversus Haereses* gives a description of the Gnostic doctrine of Valentinus and Valentinian teachers, Book

d.h. der geistliche Mensch, zu sich selbst gekommen, ist zu seinem Ursprung wiedergekehrt'. Cf. Acta Thomae 15: ἵνα πάλιν γένωμαι ὃ ἦμην.

Cf. also the theological programme of the Gnostics found in Clemens Alex. Exc. ex. Theodot. 78.2 and quoted by R. A. Markus, *Pleroma and Fulfilment*, V.C., 8, 1954, p. 195: τίνες ἦμεν, - τί γεγόναμεν; ποῦ ἦμεν; - ποῦ ἐνεβλήθημεν; ποῦ σπεῦδομεν; - πόθεν λυτρούμεθα; τί γέννησας; - τί ἀναγέννησας;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H.-J. Schoeps, *Urgemeinde, Judenchristentum, Gnosis*, Tübingen, 1956, S. 31; H.-M. Schenke, a.a.O., S. 377. H. U. von Balthasar, *Geduld des Reifens*, Basel, 1943, SS. 12 speaks of 'Mythus des zweiten Jahrhunderts', quoted by A. Bengsch, *Heilsgeschichte und Heilswissen*, Leipzig, 1957, S. 36.

<sup>2</sup> G. Quispel, *Gnosis als Weltreligion*, Zürich, 1951.

<sup>3</sup> Valentinus (born about 100 A.D. in Lower Egypt) was active in Rome in the time of Antoninus Pius (138-61). Possibly he was a serious candidate for the vacant bishopric, but he broke with the church (Tertullian, Adv. Valentin. 4), probably between 140 and 150. Research has shown that Gnosticism did indeed attain one of its summits in Valentinus, at least as regards the rendering of its myths. There was an 'Italian' school of Valentinians, whose leaders included Ptolemaeus and Heracleon, and an 'Eastern' school, of which Theodotus, among others, was a leader. Besides Irenaeus also Justin (ob. c. 165) (cf. Dial. 35), Hippolytus (c. 230), Clemens Alexandrinus (ob. 215) (*Excerpta ex Theodoto*) and Tertullian (ob. c. 220) (*Adversus Valentinianos*) wrote against them.

II deals more fully with these ideas, exposing and refuting them ('detectio et eversio sententiae ipsorum', Adv. Haer. II, Praef. 2), Book III speaks again of 'eas, quae a Valentino sunt, sententias absconditas' (Adv. Haer. III, Praef.) and attempts to adduce proof to refute them from the Gospels, the Apostles and the words of Jesus himself, Book IV confirms the preceding expositions with the words of the Lord, and Book V combats the wrong interpretation of Paul's letters by the Gnostics.

The subtitle of the present study is: 'an examination of the function of the Adam-Christ typology in the *Adversus Haereses* of Irenaeus, against the background of the Gnosticism of his time'. The concept 'typology' was chosen, because Irenaeus describes Adam as 'typus futuri' (Adv. Haer. III.22.3) and because in *Adversus Haereses* Adam and Christ form a certain correlation, which may be termed a typology. Typology is 'die Feststellung des Entsprechungsverhältnisses von Personen, Geschehnissen, Einrichtungen und Gegenständen einer früheren Zeit mit bestimmten einer späteren Zeit: Adam-Christus, Moses-Christus'.<sup>1</sup> Typology means the describing of 'zwei geschichtlichen Gröszen in ihrem Entsprechungsverhältnis',<sup>2</sup> whereby it should be borne in mind that 'zur Denkweise der christlichen Typologie immer als Voraussetzung die Gottesherrschaft in der Geschichte gehört'.<sup>3</sup>

Some questions that arise are: Why does Irenaeus often use the name of Adam?<sup>4</sup> What is the meaning of the addition 'primus-

<sup>1</sup> G. T. Armstrong, *Die Genesis in der alten Kirche*, Tübingen, 1962, S. 7; cf. also L. Goppelt, *Typos, die typologische Deutung des Alten Testaments im Neuen*, Gütersloh, 1939, S. 5, Anm. 3 (= Nachdruck 1966); L. Goppelt in: *Kittel ThWB*, VIII, 1966, SS. 246 s.v. *τύπος*.

<sup>2</sup> G. T. Armstrong, a.a.O. S. 8.

<sup>3</sup> G. T. Armstrong, a.a.O. S. 9, Anm. 1; cf. also E. Stauffer, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, Gütersloh, 1948, S. 255. Anm. 248; R. Bultmann, *Ursprung und Sinn der Typologie als hermeneutischer Methode*, in: *Pro Regno Pro Sanctuario*, Nijkerk, 1950, S. 89-100 (= *ThLZ*, 75, 1950, Sp. 205-12); O. Cullmann, *Heil als Geschichte*, Tübingen, 1965, S. 114; H. H. Miskotte, *Sensus Spiritualis*, Nijkerk, 1966, p. 62 sqq, esp. p. 69; L. Goppelt, *ThWB*, VIII, 1966, S. 251, Anm. 23 s.v. *τύπος*.

<sup>4</sup> B. Reynders, *Lexique comparé du texte grec et des versions latine, arménienne et syriaque de l'Adversus Haereses de Saint Irénée*, 2 vols., Louvain, 1954 (abbreviated henceforth as: *Lexique ...*), names 56 instances.

secundus'? Why is the second Adam called Son of Man? What significance has the Adam-Christ typology in the whole theology of Irenaeus as developed in *Adversus Haereses*?

Gnosticism also took an interest in typology. In Gnosticism also typological expositions were given of the O.T. and N.T. Wherever in the Bible a name or a number could be connected by the Gnostics with the aeons and the events in the Pleroma, a typological explanation was given. For instance, Jesus at twelve years old and the choice of the twelve apostles are both *τύπος* of the twelve aeons (Adv.Haer.I.3.2), but so are the twelve sons of Jacob, the twelve tribes of Israel, the twelve stones in the breastplate of the Jewish high priest, the twelve stones that Joshua laid in the river Jordan, the twelve bearers of the Ark, the twelve stones with which Elijah built the altar for burnt-offerings, indeed, wherever the number twelve appears in the Bible the Gnostics regard it as *τύπος* of the twelve aeons (Adv.Haer.I.18.4).

The numbers ten (Adv.Haer.I.18.3), thirty (Adv.Haer.I.1.3), four (Adv.Haer.I.18.1) and eight (Adv.Haer.I.18.3) are treated in the same manner.

Besides numbers, Gnosticism also used events and words from the Bible for typological explanations. The betrayal of Judas, for instance, was seen as *τύπος* of the suffering Sophia, since he was the twelfth disciple and she the twelfth aeon (Adv.Haer.I.3.3). The *τύπος* of the suffering Sophia was also seen in the story of the woman who had had an issue of blood for twelve years (Luke 8.43sq.) and was healed by Jesus (Adv.Haer.I.3.3). Events described in the Bible could function in Gnosticism as bearing some reference (cf. Adv.Haer.I.1.3: *ἐπιδεικνύναι* (ostendere), Adv.Haer.I.3.1: *σημαίνειν* (significare), Adv.Haer.I.3.2: *φανεροῦσθαι* (manifestari), Adv.Haer.I.8.3: *δηλοῦν* (manifestare)).

In the Gnostic view the Bible is no more than an illustration of the true, 'deeper' or 'higher' action taking place in the Pleroma. Hence the Gnostics attach no value to history.

In *Adversus Haereses* the core of Irenaeus's argumentation is, that the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us (cf. John 1.14). In none of the Gnostic systems was this taught (Adv.Haer.III.11.3: 'secundum autem nullam sententiam haereticorum Verbum Dei caro

factum est'). For Irenaeus, the flesh taken on by the Word was the flesh of Adam (Adv. Haer. I.9.3). Thus for Irenaeus also Adam is *τύπος* of Christ (cf. Rom. 5.14).

The Adam-Christ typology is one of the threads leading to the centre of the theology of Irenaeus in *Adversus Haereses*. The part (Adam-Christ typology) and the whole (the theology of *Adversus Haereses*) belong together.

The period of research into the various literary sources from which Irenaeus drew his work may be regarded as closed.<sup>1</sup> Instead, his work is considered as a whole, although this may be done from several different points of view.<sup>2</sup>

In *Adversus Haereses*, it is chiefly the doctrine of Valentinus and the Valentinian School which Irenaeus describes. For a long time *Adversus Haereses* was one of the sources for the study of Gnosticism. The discovery by C. Schmidt<sup>3</sup> in 1896 of a Gnostic source

<sup>1</sup> A. von Harnack, 'Der Presbyter-Prediger des Irenäus', IV.27. 1-32.1, in: *Philotesia*, Berlin, 1907, S. 1-37; W. Bousset, *Jüdisch-christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandria und Rom*, Göttingen, 1915, S. 272-82; A. d'Alès, *La doctrine de la récapitulation en Saint Irénée*, RSR, VI, Paris, 1916, p. 185-211 and particularly: F. Loofs, *Theophilus von Antiochien adversus Marcionem und die anderen theologischen Quellen bei Irenäus*, Leipzig, 1930. In opposition: F. R. M. Hitchcock, Loofs' theory of Theophilus of Antioch as a source of Irenaeus, *JThS*, 38, 1937, p. 130-39 and p. 255-66; id., Loofs' Asiatic Source (IQA) and the Pseudo-Justin *De Resurrectione*, *ZNW*, 36, 1937, p. 35-60; M. Widmann, *Irenäus und seine theologischen Väter*, *ZThK*, 54, 1957, S. 156-73, esp. S. 158; A. Bengsch, a.a.O. S. 39, Anm. 48.

<sup>2</sup> An extensive bibliography (till 1923) by F. Vernet in *DThC*, VII, col. 2394-2533. Of the more recent literature concerning Irenaeus: G. Wingren, *Människan och Inkarnationen enligt Irenaeus*, Lund, 1947 (Eng. transl. *Man and the Incarnation*, Edinburgh-London, 1959), whose starting-point lies chiefly in the incarnation; A. Houssiau, *La Christologie de St. Irénée*, Louvain, 1955, who particularly examines the literary themes of Irenaeus; A. Benoit, *Saint Irénée*, Paris, 1960, who tries to understand the theology of Ir. from the context. A. Bengsch, *Heilsgeschichte und Heilswissen*, Leipzig, 1957, examines the structure and unfolding of the theological thought of Irenaeus in *Adversus Haereses*.

<sup>3</sup> C. Schmidt, *Irenäus und seine Quelle in adversus haereses I.29* in: *Philotesia*, Berlin, 1907, S. 315-36, esp. however: id. 'Ein vorirenäisches gnostisches Originalwerk in koptischer Sprache', in: *Sitzungsbericht der kgl. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Jahrg. 1896, Berlin,

from the time before Irenaeus, made it possible to compare the Gnostic writing with the rendering in *Adversus Haereses* in order to see whether Irenaeus gave a reliable account of his Gnostic opponents.<sup>1</sup>

Such a comparison has also been instituted between the Letter to Flora<sup>2</sup> of Ptolemaeus, one of the leaders of the Italian school of the Valentinian groups, and the rendering by Irenaeus of the system of Valentinus in *Adv. Haer.* I.1.1-8.4.<sup>3</sup> In *Adv. Haer.* III.2.9 Irenaeus states that the Valentinians possess a Gospel of Truth which does not agree with the canonical Gospels. H.-Ch. Puech and G. Quispel are of opinion, that the *Evangelium Veritatis*<sup>4</sup> contained in the Codex Jung<sup>5</sup> and the *Evangelium Veritatis* mentioned by Irenaeus in *Adv. Haer.* III.2.9 are identical.<sup>6</sup>

It is by no means out of the question, that new material for

1896, S. 839-47. Cf. for this and for comparison with the writings found later at Nag-Hammadi: W. Till, *Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502* in: TU LX, Berlin, 1955; H.-Ch. Puech in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, I, Tübingen, 1959<sup>3</sup>, S. 229-43; M. Krause und Pahor Labib, *Die drie Versionen des Apokryphon des Johannes im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo*, Wiesbaden, 1962; S. Giversen, *Apocryphon Johannis*, in: *Acta Theologica Danica* 5, Copenhagen, 1963 and W. Till in *ThLZ*, 89, 1964, Sp. 751.

<sup>1</sup> cf. F. M. M. Sagnard, l.c. p. 7, pp. 78, pp. 99 and pp. 439 and G. Quispel, *The original doctrine of Valentine*, in: *VC*, I, 1947, p. 43-73, esp. p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> The text of this letter is also found in Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 33.1-7, cf. A. Stieren, *Sancti Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis quae supersunt omnia*, I, Leipzig, 1853, Appendix, p. 922 seq. and G. Quispel, *Ptolémée, Lettre à Flora*, Paris, 1966<sup>2</sup> (SC 24).

<sup>3</sup> F. M. M. Sagnard, l.c., p. 7; A. Benoit, l.c., p. 28; G. Quispel, *Ptolémée*, p. 8 and W. Foerster, *Die Grundzüge der ptolemaeischen Gnosis*, NTS, Cambridge, VI, 1960, p. 16-31.

<sup>4</sup> The second of the Nag Hammadi writings contained in the Codex Jung, cf. H. Ch. Puech, *Das Evangelium der Wahrheit*, in: Hennecke-Schneemelcher, I, SS. 160.

<sup>5</sup> A Coptic codex obtained on May 10th 1952 by G. Quispel for the Jung Institute in Zürich.

<sup>6</sup> G. Quispel, *Note on an unknown Gnostic codex*, in: *VC*, VII, 1953, p. 193; H.-Ch. Puech et G. Quispel, *Les Écrits gnostiques du Codex Jung*, *VC*, VIII, 1954, pp. 1; M. Malinine, H.-Ch. Puech, G. Quispel, *Evangelium Veritatis*, Zürich, 1956, p. XII. A different opinion: W. Dunn, *What does 'Gospel of Truth' mean?* in: *VC*, XV, 1961, p. 161. Views for and against the equation discussed in N. Brox, *Offenbarung, Gnosis und gnostischer Mythos bei Irenäus von Lyon*, Salzburg-München, 1966, S. 60, Anm. 66.



comparison may still be found, for: 'die Probleme, welche die Gnosisforschung stellt – sind seit den Funden von Nag-Hammadi in eine ganz neue Phase gekommen. Alle Auffassungen und Theorien, welche vor 1950 aufgestellt sind, müssen als prinzipiell überholt und veraltet betrachtet werden, weil neue Tatsachen bekannt geworden sind und noch immer bekannt werden'.<sup>1</sup>

The remark of A. Bengsch: 'Wo es um die Frage einer Heilsgeschichtlichen Theologie geht, kann man offenbar nicht an Irenäus vorbei',<sup>2</sup> may explain the fresh interest in the theology of Irenaeus of Lyons that has arisen of late years.<sup>3</sup>

The present study is composed as follows:

Chapter I enumerates the Adam-Christ texts in *Adversus Haereses* Book III, with a short summary, and also enumerates the Adam-Christ texts in *Adversus Haereses* Book V, again with a short summary.

Chapter 2 relates Irenaeus's description of the Gnosticism of his time. Gnostic cosmogony and 'anthropogony', Gnostic soteriology and ethics are dealt with, and a short summary closes the chapter.

Chapter 3 deals with the manner in which Irenaeus has exposed and refuted the various Gnostic conceptions. What are – according to Irenaeus – the chief points of the Gnostic doctrine and how can they be combated? How does Irenaeus handle the 'regula fidei' and the 'traditio'?

Chapter 4 discusses the function of the Adam-Christ typology in *Adversus Haereses*. Besides a negative purpose – unmasking and

<sup>1</sup> W. C. van Unnik, Die 'Zahl der vollkommenen Seelen' in der 'Pistis Sophia', in: Abraham unser Vater, Leiden, 1963, S. 467-77, esp. S. 467.

<sup>2</sup> A. Bengsch, a.a.O. S. XIV.

<sup>3</sup> Besides the doctoral thesis, already mentioned, of A. Bengsch, those of J. Ochagavia, *Visibile Patris Filius*, Roma, 1964; G. Joppich, *Salus Carnis*, Münsterschwarzach, 1965 and N. Brox, *Offenbarung, Gnosis und gnostischer Mythos bei Irenäus von Lyon*, Salzburg-München, 1966.

refuting the Gnostic opponents – there was also a positive purpose.

The concept *οικονομία τοῦ Θεοῦ* (*dispositio Dei*) plays a great part here, and also the concept *ἀνακεφαλαίωσις* (*recapitulatio*). The question is what value attaches to the Adam-Christ typology for the combat of Irenaeus against his Gnostic opponents, and for the building up of his theology.

In Chapter 5, instances of the Adam-Christ typology in the first and second century are sought. Rom. 5.12-21 is discussed and also I Cor. 15.21-22 and 45-49. The problem to be answered here is: did Irenaeus take over the opinion of the Apostle Paul with regard to sin and the resurrection of the flesh, or did he alter it?

Chiliasm, as found in Adv. Haer. V.32-36 is also discussed in this connection.

An inquiry follows, whether the Apostolic Fathers provide elements, which might have influenced the Adam-Christ typology. Justin Martyr, Theophilus of Antioch, the Easter homily of Melito of Sardis, and the 'apocryphal correspondence between the Corinthians and the Apostle Paul' are similarly treated.

For the text of *Adversus Haereses* the edition was used of A. Stieren: *Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis quae supersunt omnia*, 2 Bände, Leipzig, 1853. The quotations in the present work are taken from this edition (e.g. Adv. Haer. I.2.3 = Book I, Chapter 2, paragraph 3).

For purposes of comparison W. W. Harvey: *S. Irenaei Libros quinque Adversus Haereses*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1857 was used.<sup>1</sup>

For the translation E. Klebba: *Des heiligen Irenäus ausgewählte Schriften*, BKV 3/4, Kempten und München, 1912 was consulted.

An *Editio critica minor* of Book III Adv. Haer. has appeared in the series *Sources chrétiennes*, prepared by F. M. M. Sagnard: *Contre les hérésies, Livre III*, SC 34, Paris, 1952.

The need for a new, complete edition of *Adversus Haereses* has been felt for a long time.<sup>2</sup> The want is in part supplied by the new

<sup>1</sup> Like Stieren, Harvey used the text edition of R. Massuet, Paris 1710, but added the Greek text of passages taken from the *Refutatio* of Hippolytus.

<sup>2</sup> cf. B. Reynders, *Lexique*, I, Avant-propos, Note 2.

edition of Book IV Adv. Haer., in which A. Rousseau, together with B. Hemmerdinger, L. Doutreleau and Ch. Mercier, makes a reconstruction of the Greek text on the basis of the Latin and the Armenian translation: Irénée de Lyon, Contre les hérésies, Livre IV, SC 100, Paris 1965.<sup>1</sup>

Leeuwarden, October 1967.

<sup>1</sup> After finishing this study *Le Origini dello Gnosticismo* (The Origins of Gnosticism, Colloquium of Messina, 13-18 April 1966), Supplements to Numen, XII, Leiden, 1967 and C. Colpe, s.v. ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (Kittel ThWB, Band VIII, Doppellieferung 7/8, Dezember 1967) were published. Colpe gives a corroboration of the conclusion reached in my study concerning the term Son of Man in Irenaeus' Adversus Haereses (cf. S. 481).